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ABSTRACT

This study of guestworkers' childrearing attitudes was the first such investigation to be approved by the West German government. Specifically compared were the childrearing attitudes of West German and immigrant guestworker parents toward creativity, frustration, control, play, and teaching/learning. An effort was also made to determine relationships between attitudinal variables and ethnic group membership, sex of child, sex of parent, and income level. Participants were 155 native Germans and 215 guestworkers who were parents of kindergarten or first-grade children. Guestworkers originated from Greece, Italy, and Turkey. To assess parental strengths and needs in childrearing, all subjects were administered the Parent as a Teacher Inventory. Results indicated that attitudinal differences among ethnic groups were greatest in relation to issues of child control and parental ability to facilitate the teaching/learning process. Parental childrearing attitudes toward control and teaching/learning also differed according to monthly income level. Parents did not indicate different expectations for sons as opposed to daughters, a finding implying that guestworker parents have adopted some childrearing attitudes that are not part of their cultural tradition. Unexpectedly, German and Turkish parents shared favorable attitudes about the development of independence during childhood; Greek and Italian guestworkers preferred dominance in the parent-child relationship. Implications for possible parent education intervention programs were suggested. (RH)

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RESEARCH and DEVELOPMENT REPORTS

A Comparison of West German and Guestworker Parents' Childrearing Attitudes and Expectations*

by

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ABSTRACT

A study to compare the child-rearing expectations of 155 West German parents and 215 immigrant guest-worker parents to West Germany from Greece, Italy and Turkey was conducted using the Parent As A Teacher Inventory. Subset comparisons underscore the need to develop guestworker parent education programs. This method to help immigrant parents modify certain of their child-rearing attitudes can strengthen the family relationship while integration into German society proceeds.

Sumario

Un estudio para comparar las expectaciones en la crianza de sus niños de 155 padres de Alemania del Oeste y 215 padres invitados como trabajadores inmigrantes a Alemania del Oeste de Grecia, Italia y Turquía, fue conducido usando el "Inventario de Padre Como Maestro". La comparación de los resultados muestra la necesidad de desarrollar programas de educación para los padres inmigrantes. Este método para ayudar a los padres extranjeros a modificar ciertas actitudes en la crianza de sus niños puede fortalecer la relación familiar mientras el proceso de integración en la sociedad alemana continúa.

Précis

On a fait un étude en utilisant "Les Parents Comme Instituteurs Inventaire" pour comparer les expectations des parents en elèvant les enfants. On a comparé ces expectations de 115 parents allemands avec 215 parents qui sont gastarbeiters de la Grèce, de l'Italie, et de la Turquie. Les comparaisons des résultats soulignent la nécessité de développer des programmes d'éducation pour les parents qui sont gastarbeiters. Cette méthode d'assister les gastarbeiters à modifier certaines attitudes d'élèvant les enfants peut raffermir leurs rapports de famille, pendant qu'ils se mélangent dans la société allemande.

A COMPARISON OF WEST GERMAN AND GUESTWORKER PARENTS' CHILDREARING ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS

When West Germany began to recruit foreign workers in the 1950's the immigrants were seen as a temporary source of cheap labor. To emphasize the impermanent status of foreigners newly arrived from Greece, Italy, Turkey and Yugoslavia, they were collectively referred to as guestworkers. From the outset it was mutually assumed that in due time, most of the guestworkers would return to their homeland. But now, thirty years later, it is clear that the initial forecast of a short term stay was incorrect. Indeed, 85% of the guestworkers still reside in Germany and have increased in population. Presently the total number of guestworkers including dependent children is nearly 5 million (Altschull, 1981).

The recruitment of foreign labor by West Germany ended in 1973. Consequently, many guestworker children were born in Germany and have never known another homeland. Although their parents hope that the younger generation will have an easier and more successful life, most indicators suggest the prospects are dim. Unlike minority groups in the United States who, regardless of income, enjoy citizenship and legal rights, the guestworkers remain politically helpless subject to alien registration and political deportation. Many of the school age group are not enrolled in any kind of educational program. Of those

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who do attend classes, two-thirds will experience failure and dropout before they complete sixth grade (Altschull, 1981). In the end less than one percent of guestworker children can expect to graduate from an academic high school (Hopf, 1981; Rist, 1979).

In view of the guestworker child's marginal access to formal learning, lack of citizenship, unclear cultural identity and meager chance for upward mobile employment, it is not surprising that alienation has become a common experience. Indeed, the rate of crime among teenage guestworkers is double the figure for German adolescents (Dornberg,1978). The potential for disorder has recently reached such proportions that law enforcement officials, educators and politicians are united in declaring the integration of guestworker children as the nation's most pressing problem (Europe's Growing Problem with Migrants, 1982).

Related Research

The decision to improve education for guestworker children is commendable. But determining the kind of instruction which can benefit them the most continues to be a matter of dispute. The conflicting viewpoints stem from differing assumptions about the future of guestworker students and the influence of their parents. In turn, we will examine each of these assumptions.

If the future is seen as a time when most foreigners will leave Germany and return to their country of origin, then a curriculum which emphasizes retention of a child's native language along with some instruction in German as a second language seems appropriate. Advocates of this approach contend that it enables students to sufficiently adapt

to the German culture without having to forfeit their own heritage. Furthermore, by developing competence in the mother tongue children are equipped to reenter schools in their homeland. The fact that guestworker parents in Munich choose the mother tongue option more than any other type program for their children is cited by the Bavarian government as evidence of its worthwhileness. By contrast, opponents of the mother tongue approach view it as a deliberate means to ensure the segregation of guestworkers and relegate them to a permanent underclass (Steedman, 1979; Willke, 1980).

Guestworker parents in Bavaria have another educational alternative. They can choose to place sons and daughters in public school classes where German is the primary language of instruction. Here the possibilities include interaction with German peers, eventual competence in the host language, and a greater chance for secure employment. However, there are good reasons why only one-sixth of the guestworkers select this type of program for their children. First, students are required to be fluent in German from the beginning or they quickly fall behind. Then too, because the German school day is only four hours long and special help is rarely available in class, parents are expected to do a considerable amount of tutoring at home (Raoufi, 1981). Obviously this essential support cannot be given by most guestworker parents because they are not fully bilingual. To further compound the guestworker child's problem of access to help, s/he is expected to make up the academic work which is missed during the eight hours a week devoted to mother tongue maintenance. Given the overwhelming odds against success, parents reluctantly conclude that it is better for their

children to attend a mother tongue school which will at least honor cultural tradition (Raoufi, 1981; Rist, 1978).

In response to the growing unrest and social problems associated with guestworkers, German educators have begun to reassess the value of using a strictly compensatory approach to integration. Instead of focusing on the guestworker child alone, there is increasing emphasis on working with the whole family. The wisdom of this broader perspective is documented by intervention studies in the United States and Sweden. Traditionally government programs in the United States overlooked the relationship between parent development and child development. For example, when Headstart was established in 1965 the premise was that minority children needed to be rescued from family influence. Later, when research confirmed that parents have a greater impact on child-self concept and language than anyone else, there was a shift in the federal position. This transition from a nearly exclusive emphasis on compensatory education to a larger view that includes helping parents teach was first made evident by the nationwide beginning of project Homestart in 1971. Subsequently, followup studies showed that the focus on improving the parent-child system rather than the child alone accounted for the greater longterm success of some early intervention programs over others which did not have longterm impact (Datta, 1979; Zigler & Anderson, 1979).

Similarly, in Sweden, migrant child education is complemented by parent training. Swedish schools encourage integration through a mutual adaptation which familiarizes foreign parents with Swedish culture, values, and child rearing practices. Conversely, immigrant parents are encouraged

to interpret their cultural mores to Swedish teachers to achieve mutual understanding and respect. In both the United States and Sweden it appears that when the family is seen as part of the solution to integration rather than as an obstacle a more comprehensive and promising strategy becomes possible (Eckstrand, 1981; Strom & Johnson, 1981).

Few attempts have been made to study, by country of origin, the attitudes of individual immigrants toward education and then to compare immigrant group and host group attitudes. Instead the common practice has been to treat guestworkers as one homogeneous group while examining the degree of their language deficiency, social isolation and academic misfortune (Wilpert, 1977). Although these sorts of studies draw attention to the scope of maladjustment and justify the need for family intervention, they do not offer guidance on how to improve parental influence. In order for parent educators to develop helpful curricula it is necessary to know something about the range of childrearing expectations among German parents representing the host culture, and guestworker groups representing the immigrant cultures. Accordingly, the study we will describe was intended to compare the similarities and differences in parents' childrearing attitudes toward creativity, frustration, control, play, and teaching-learning as a function of their ethnic group membership, sex of child, sex of parent and income level (Daniels, 1982).

Method

Subjects

The 370 subjects for this study were mothers (54%) and fathers (45%) of kindergarten or first grade sons (48%) and daughters (51%) living in

Munich, West Germany. Parents who comprised the sample were indigenous Germans (47%) and immigrant guestworkers (53%). Unlike the native Germans (N=155) the guestworkers originated from Greece (N=106), Italy (N=49) and Turkey (N=60). Most of the respondents were married, had achieved comparable educational levels, and as a total group fairly represented the general distribution of income for West Germany. Owing to lack of information regarding sex of child or parent and family income, twenty-eight cases were excluded from the multivariate analysis of variance and all other statistical calculations. The resulting N=342 served as the base for examination.

Instrument

To assess parental strengths and needs in childrearing, all subjects were administered the Parent As A Teacher Inventory (PAAT) (Strom, 1982). This attitude scale provides information regarding what parents of 3 to 9 year olds expect of their child, how they interact with their child, and what actions they take in response to specific child behavior. The rationale upon which the PAAT was developed assumes that the child rearing variables measured by the inventory constitute parent-child interactive behaviors necessary for success in modern societies. PAAT responses can be grouped into five content areas of parental needs: Creativity, Frustration, Control, Play and Teaching-Learning.

The Creativity subset focuses upon parental acceptance of creative functioning of their child as well as their desire to encourage or suppress its development. The Frustration subset seeks to identify

parent childrearing frustration and the loci of their frustration. Parent feelings regarding the extent to which parental control of child behavior is necessary are dealt with in the Control subset. The Play subset assesses parental understanding of play and its influence in child development. On the final subset, Teaching-Learning, parental perception of their ability to facilitate the growth process for their child is measured. Ten items, designed to consider each of these five subsets, make a composite PAAT of 50 items.

The PAAT has broad appeal for assessing parental self-impression as it relates to the family interactive system and for guiding the development of intervention curricula. The prior lack of appropriate evaluation for these purposes has limited the possibilities of diagnostic planning. Now goals for assessment and curriculum planning are being realized through cross cultural administration of the PAAT. A computer data bank has been established at Arizona State University to provide research summaries and journal reprints of investigations using the PAAT, comparative scores from the various subpopulations and foreign language translations of the instrument (Strom 1982).

Reliability and Validity

Internal consistency of PAAT responses for the total sample of 370 parents was measured by the alpha coefficient, a generalization of Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 (Hull & Nie, 1979). Alpha reflects the degree of reliability among items of a scale in terms of overlapping variance and equalled .75. Alpha for German and guestworker PAAT respondents was comparable to reliabilities reported by other PAAT

researchers, alpha range = .70 to .87. The reliability of subsets was lower, as expected, since the size of coefficient alpha is directly related to the number of items. Studies concerning validity of the PAAT have indicated 70% and 80% consonance between parents' expressed and observed behaviors for both anglo and minority samples (Strom, 1982).

Data Gathering

The Bavarian Ministry of Education granted permission to conduct this study of parental expectations in nineteen public and private schools serving German and immigrant families. The resulting data represent the first government approved assessment of guestworkers' child-rearing attitudes in West Germany. Before data gathering could begin a representative from the Institute for German as a Second Language at the University of Munich traveled to Arizona for the purpose of assessing the intent of each PAAT item. To ensure comparability of meaning across groups the Parent As A Teacher Inventory was then translated from English into German, Greek, Italian and Turkish by the Institute.

Individual students in each of the target schools were directed by their kindergarten or first grade teacher to bring the PAAT home along with an attached letter of explanation for parents. All PAATs were answered in German and guestworker homes by individual parents and returned the next day in a closed envelope. This procedure is not always recommended but conditions within Munich requiring anonymity of research subjects precluded an alternative method of administration. The 34% response rate, (370 out of 1080 PAATS) was fairly uniform

across ethnic groups and was considered adequate given the guestworker circumstance. These parents were unaccustomed to surveys and felt uneasy about providing certain demographic datum. In general guestworkers experience a sense of insecurity toward the government because it controls their right to stay in the country. Permission to stay depends on certain restrictions with regard to number of children and status of the woman. Many guestworkers have more children or persons in their apartment than allowed. Some people were also reluctant to disclose their financial situation for fear that German tax officials might obtain the information and somehow learn their identity.

Selection of Variables

Selection of the independent variables was based on a review of related literature. Ethnic group membership was chosen for analysis because various authors have reported that cultural tradition passed to succeeding generations is the factor most responsible for parental attitudes toward childrearing (Kourvetaris, 1976, Lambert, Hamers, & Frasure-Smith, 1979). Aside from the country of origin, the aspect most indicative of a cultural or ethnic group is shared language (Mindel & Habenstein, 1976). Therefore, the language in which the PAAT was administered served as the criterion of ethnic group assignment.

Sex of child was included as a potential source of variability. Extensive investigation concerning family interaction within each ethnic group revealed a common tradition of stereotypic sex role expectations. Sons were preferred over daughters, trained to assume supremacy in the family and given priority in educational opportunity.

Conversely, daughters were trained for a subservient role with success defined in terms of fulfilling domestic tasks (Gavaki, 1979; Kiray, 1976; Sowell, 1981).

Sex of parent was chosen as an independent variable and a potential source of differences because each ethnic group comes from a historically patriarchal family system with traditionally rigid division of labor within the family following sex lines. Some groups, such as Greeks, were reported to be less conscious of this rigid division within the privacy of the home (Friedl, 1967). Similarly, homeland Turks were seen as having the most rigid adherence to a sex-role division between mother and father, yet emigration was suggested in the literature as a factor in relaxation of rigid sex-role behavior and attitudes (Abadan-Unat, 1977).

Earning power was not meant as an index of pure socioeconomic status but the selection of income level as an independent variable was supported because guestworkers constitute the lowest stratum of society, (Powers, 1979) and because skill and education prior to emigration have little bearing on the current wage and occupation of guestworkers. Virtually all of them share the misfortune of holding the lowest paid jobs. Thus, the use of occupation and educational level as indices of social position would not truly indicate the conditions in West Germany when comparing guestworkers with the indigenous population. As a variable, income seemed to be less influenced by random errors of interpretation. Education and occupation alone or in combination are insufficient because of the social stratification. Therefore, income seemed to be the most sensitive indicator of distinction

between Germans and guestworkers in the present context. All subjects in this study used the same differentials to report monthly income of the family. The low income category described the social status of unskilled occupations and hourly rate jobs for which there were no social security benefits. The number of respondents who qualified as being truly high income level were few. Accordingly, for purposes of data analysis, the middle and high income levels were combined into a single category.

Statisical Analysis

Multivariate analysis of variance was used in a full model design to test the influence of ethnic group membership, sex of child and parent, and income level on parents' mean scores for the five PAAT subsets. Following a significant multivariate F-ratio (Rao's F-approximation) for any main effect or interaction at the .05 level, separate univariate tests and Scheffé pairwise comparisons were applied to identify the source of significance among groups. Finally, a discriminant analysis was performed where significance occurred to reduce the five subset variables to a parsimonious few which best discriminated among groups (Finn, 1978).

Limitations of the Study

The German and immigrant parents in this study represent a nonprobability sample and therefore generalization of our results to all German or guestworker families is not possible. The seriousness of

this limitation is tempered by the likelihood of further assessment prior to parent education curriculum-development.

Data Analysis

Ethnic Group Effect

Multivariate analysis demonstrated the expected main effect for ethnic group membership, $F(15,845.13) = 15.76$, $p < .01$. The univariate analysis demonstrated that all dependent variables were contributing to significant differences in PAAT mean scores among groups: Creativity, $F(3,310) = 8.95$, $p < .0001$; Frustration, $F(3,310) = 11.64$, $p < .0001$; Control, $F(3,310) = 57.17$, $p < .0001$; Play, $F(3,310) = 18.62$, $p < .0001$; Teaching-Learning, $F(3,310) = 32.44$, $p < .0001$. Table 1 presents the mean scores for each subset variable for each ethnic group.

Insert Table 1 here.

In order to determine which ethnic group pairs differed, the Scheffé multiple comparisons procedure was employed. A set of simultaneous confidence intervals for all comparisons was constructed.

TABLE 1

PAAT SUBSET MEAN SCORES FOR GERMAN AND IMMIGRANT PARENTS

AS A FUNCTION OF ETHNIC GROUP MEMBERSHIP

		SUBSET VARIABLES				
ETHNIC GROUP	n	CR	FR	CO	PL	TL
German	146	29.24	30.85	28.30	34.02	33.43
Greek	98	26.89	29.13	21.01	30.76	28.91
Italian	38	27.73	27.52	23.93	34.12	31.52
Turkish	60	28.85	27.96	25.97	31.76	31.28
TOTAL	342					

Scheffé Pair-Wise Comparisons

In the present context German subjects were paired with Greek, Italian, and Turkish subjects to locate the source of significant differences among pairs for the ethnic effect.

The Greek-German pair-wise comparisons demonstrated significant differences at the .05 level on all subsets except for Frustration. The Italian and German parents significantly differed only on attituces toward Frustration and Control, $p < .05$. The Turkish-German parent contrast demonstrated a significant difference only on attitudes toward childrearing Frustration, $p < .05$.

The tests for the main effect of ethnic group membership indicated there were significant differences among German, Greek, Italian, and Turkish parents on some PAAT subsets. German parents had significantly more desirable attitudes toward Creativity, Control, Play, and Teaching-Learning than Greek parents; significantly more desirable attitudes toward Frustration and Control than Italian parents; and significantly more desirable attitudes toward Frustration than Turkish parents. In general, German and Turkish parents demonstrated a greater similarity in child-rearing attitudes and expectations for the main effect of ethnic group membership than was evident from German comparisons with Greek or Italian parents.

Sex of Child and Sex of Parent Main Effects

The sex of child and sex of parent multivariate tests failed to

detect differences in parental attitudes toward sons and daughters and between attitudes expressed by mothers and fathers' childrearing expectations.

Income Effect

Multivariate analysis indicated that PAAT mean scores for parents in the low income group significantly differed from mean scores for parents at higher income levels, $F(5,306) = 5.21$, $p. < .01$. Univariate analysis revealed that attitudes toward Control, $F(1,310) = 21.50$, $p < .01$, and Teaching-Learning, $F(1,310) = 8.55$, $p < .01$ were responsible for the differentiation of parent groups as a function of income level.

Subset mean scores for low and high income parent groups presented in Table 2 indicate that high income parents have significantly more desirable attitudes toward issues of child Control and parental ability to facilitate the Teaching-Learning process. Mean scores for Creativity, Frustration, and Play reveal that parents at each income level have similar desirable attitudes (mean scores above 25) toward items assessed on these subsets.

Insert Table 2 here.

TABLE 2

PAAT SUBSET MEAN SCORES FOR GERMAN AND IMMIGRANT PARENTS AS A FUNCTION OF INCOME LEVEL

		SUBSET VARIABLES				
INCOME LEVEL	n	CR	FR	CO	PL	TL
Low	233	28.14	28.28	23.22	32.27	30.39
High	109	28.21	29.47	26.37	33.06	32.18
TOTAL	342					

Scheffé Pair-Wise Comparisons

High income parents had significantly more desirable attitudes on Control and Teaching-Learning than low income parents as a result of the Scheffé pair-wise comparisons on this dimension. There were no significant attitude differences toward Creativity, Frustration, and Play between low and high income parents.

Interaction of Ethnic Group Membership X Sex of Child

The initial multivariate test of the interaction of ethnic group membership X sex of child indicated a significant difference among groups, $F(15,845.13) = 1.74$, $p < .05$. The subset source of this difference was Frustration, $F(3,310) = 3.53$ $p < .05$. However, because this was a non-orthogonal design, the order in which the effects were entered was judged to confound the data. Therefore, to achieve an unbiased test of the significance of this interaction, a reordering procedure was followed (Cramer, 1980; Overall & Hornick, 1981). The unconfounded test indicated the absence of a significant interaction between ethnic group membership and sex of child, ($F(15,845.13) = 1.48$, $< .05$.

Analyses for Immigrants Only

Separate multivariate analyses were performed to investigate how German parents' PAAT mean scores were influencing data analysis results. German subjects were removed from analysis and each main effect was tested for immigrants only. Ethnic group $F(10,406) = 6.15$, $p < .01$, and income level effects $F(5,188) = 3.77$, $p < .01$ resulted in significant difference among immigrant groups. These findings were comparable to results of data analysis with Germans included and suggested that immigrant guestworkers are not one homogenous population. Similarly, income level for immigrants had an effect on parents' PAAT mean scores

similar to that for German parents. For the ethnic group effect immigrant groups reported similar attitudes toward Creativity, Play, and Teaching-Learning. Differences were noted for Greek parents compared with Turkish and Italian groups. Greek parents had a significantly more desirable Frustration mean score than Italian parents, $p < .01$, but not Turkish parents, $p > .05$; a less desirable Control mean than Turkish parents, $p < .01$, but not Italian parents, $p > .05$.

For the income effect high income immigrant parents had significantly more desirable means for Control, Play and Teaching-Learning than low income immigrant parents, $p < .01$.

DISCUSSION

The results of this comparative study for West German and immigrant guestworker parents indicated that attitude differences among ethnic groups were greatest toward issues of child control and parental ability to facilitate the teaching-learning process. These same attitude differences were reported for the income factor.

German and Turkish parents shared favorable attitudes about the development of independence during childhood. The similarity of views between these ethnic groups was unexpected. Previous literature had suggested that Turkish parents would be the most control-oriented of all immigrant groups, demanding absolute obedience from their children (Abadan-Unat, 1976; 1977).

By contrast, the once authoritarian German parents were reported to have become permissive in recent years (Pines, 1981). While the present study confirms a child-responsive attitude by German parents, it challenges the view that Trukish guestworkers are committed to their reported ethnic traditions of childrearing. On the contrary,

as these parents try to implement their recently acquired nontraditional expectations, the most important and unfamiliar task they will face is teaching their children to become self reliant rather than simply obedient.

Greek and Italian guestworkers shared unfavorable attitudes regarding the control of children. Their preference for continual dominance in the parent-child relationship suggests that these immigrant groups could benefit from instruction emphasizing the link between a child's power needs and a positive self concept. The child who is continually dominated, no matter how kindly, will cease in some measure to grow since his or her needs for control remain unexpressed and unsatisfied. Because children who lack a sense of power can find security only via dependence, sharing dominance is important to their growth and independence. Learning to sense power and to share dominance are vital ingredients for mental health and can best begin with parent-child play for there the conditions allow a wide range of possible conflicts and consequences that are nonpunitive. Research has shown that play is an effective means for providing early childhood education and that methods like Toy Talk do not require high levels of parental intelligence or educational background (Strom, 1981). The readiness to benefit from such training was shown by the favorable attitudes of each ethnic group toward Play, Creativity and Teaching-Learning.

In addition to ethnic differences among groups in this study, parents also differed in childrearing attitudes and expectations according to monthly income level, again implicating attitudes toward

Control and Teaching-Learning. This finding suggests that assimilation of diverse groups into West German society ought to include helping them obtain improved opportunities for economic advancement.

Unexpectedly, parents in this study did not differentiate expectations for sons and daughters. This favorable finding suggests that guestworkers with young children could be receptive to a parent education curriculum which emphasizes equal opportunities for the optimal development of children regardless of sex. If intervention begins with parents of young children, it may positively affect attitudes toward both sons and daughters as children grow older. The possibility exists for a lessened incidence of differentiated expectations for adolescent children through a longterm parent education approach. The likelihood of equal opportunities and expectations for both sons and daughters is further supported by the fact that mothers and fathers held similar attitudes toward childrearing issues.

The findings regarding parents' similar attitudes and expectations for both sons and daughters are very encouraging. These results suggest that this particular aspect of each ethnic group's cultural heritage has undergone modification from the prior sex-specific childrearing attitudes presented in the literature to a more egalitarian view of proper child behavior. The sex of child finding challenges the common view that the influence of cultural values or ethnic heritage render a people impervious to change. On closer inspection, this finding implies that immigrant guestworker parents have embraced some childrearing attitudes which are not part of their cultural tradition.

It seems unwise to interpret this change as an index of cultural disloyalty. Rather it suggests an acceptance of new information about parenting that serves the best interests of children. Hopefully educators will demonstrate a corresponding openness in learning about immigrant parents. It is more respectful to survey minority groups about their thoughts and feelings than to suppose their views are simply a continuation of ancestral ways.

Guestworker parents in the present study have indicated a readiness to change traditional childrearing attitudes by the obvious modification of sex-specific attitudes toward sons and daughters. These changes have occurred outside the sphere of formal education. More help is desired, especially by those who recognize that expectations for children must keep pace with social change if families are to remain united. Strict adherence to traditional parenting attitudes and expectations does not serve the best interests of a child who perhaps will never visit the homeland, and who will live, attend school, and work among foreigners. It is time to ask: How can immigrant parents establish an effective teaching environment in the home, limit the chances of alienation from their children, and promote child autonomy and opportunities for educational and occupational success? These issues deserve consideration by the entire nation.

The need for guestworker parent education has been documented. In addition, these groups have indicated what we interpret as a willingness to modify certain childrearing attitudes. Such willingness deserves support through the development of relevant curricula for each

separate ethnic group. Through a planned process of informing the members of each group how other Greek, Italian, or Turkish parents now feel about specific child behaviors and which behaviors serve the best interests of their children, individual immigrant families can initiate an attitude modification process while reenforcing those aspects of their heritage which deserve perpetuation.

In the final analysis, program planning must give first consideration to the family. To focus upon specific definable parental behaviors and attitudes is to go beyond ethnicity, income or other group differences to treat parents as individuals. While some parental behaviors may not promote children's development, it is essential that parents be respected for their values, honored for their strengths and supported while they are being encouraged to modify and improve their child-rearing understanding and behavior.

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